

budget line of the NEA is spitefully reduced to zero.

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#### AMERICA'S ART AND SOUL

Conservatives looking for Government fat to trim say they can't wait to take a cleaver to the National Endowment for the Arts—That naughty, left-wing frill in the federal budget. They should look and think before they chop, because the NEA is hardly a luxury. It's American bedrock, as solid as the summer concerts on the town green, or dance programs at the local high school, or the puppet shows at the community center.

While the NEA has hit the headlines for controversies, most notably the funding for photographer Robert Mapplethorpe, the endowment's primary business is supporting family-oriented entertainment, about which it has received little publicity since it was founded in 1965.

In Boston the NEA money goes to such places as the Handel and Haydn Society, the Berklee College of Music, the Huntington Theater Company, the Boston Ballet, the Chinese Culture Institute, the Boston Center for the Arts and Boston Dance Umbrella, to name a few. The list reflects a national portrait of community involvement and grassroots culture that is as vital to a country's strength as the defense budget or a jobs program.

The NEA's budget is \$167 million—approximately 65 cents for every American. This investment provides 5,000 grants, which put up seed money to be matched by local funding. It also stimulates the economy, for the arts put 3.2 million people to work and provide \$3.4 billion in federal income taxes. According to the NEA one study showed that the arts generated \$37 billion to local businesses around the country.

A wise investment, not only for the psyche but also for the bottom line. Members of Congress eager to wield the axe should consider the real work and economics of the NEA rather than the aberrations that have made news. Since 1965 it has provided 11,000 individual artists with fellowships—42 Pulitzer Prize winners, 47 MacArthur grant recipients and 28 National Book Awards authors. The grants came to people as they were struggling to create their art. A country that fails to encourage this loses its genius and its soul.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I fully understand that many Americans are troubled when they hear of works distasteful to them that are funded in part with their tax dollars. Nevertheless, while the Endowment has awarded well over 100,000 grants, fewer than 40 have resulted in any controversy whatsoever—a success rate of 99.96 percent. Over the last year Chairman Jane Alexander has instituted a series of most valuable changes in the agency's procedures. The agency will no longer accept applications from organizations, other than the State arts councils, which subgrant Endowment funds out to other projects. In addition, the Endowment will now require that progress reports be submitted before the release of the final third of a grant award. Permission from the agency will be necessary before a grantee can modify its activities from those approved by the Endowment. These changes give the chairman greater oversight over Endowment grants and I believe they will go a long way toward addressing the concerns of many of our citizens.

Chairman Jane Alexander has increased the Endowment's focus on rural communities and the inner cities. The Underserved Communities Program grants \$8.7 million specifically to broaden public access to the arts. Even the very limited funds appropriated for the Endowment help keep ticket prices reasonable, thus enabling lower income citizens, young people, the elderly, and the disabled to gain access to our common culture.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the suggestion that support for the arts provided by the National Endowment constitutes a subsidy for the wealthy. One of the primary missions of the Arts Endowment has been to encourage the spread of American culture beyond those individuals, communities, and regions affluent enough to afford it on their own. Uncharacteristically among Federal programs, Endowment dollars multiply and foster national support for the arts. Yearly Endowment grants draw matching grants of approximately \$1.4 billion from private, State, and local patrons. Thus, before the National Endowment for the Arts came into existence, there were only 22 professional theaters in the entire country and 1 million people attended each year. Today, our Nation boasts 420 and 55 million attend. There were 58 orchestras before the agency, today, there are over a 1,000. Fifteen million more Americans attend symphony performances each year.

I think it is rather unfair to our citizens for some individuals to assert that only wealthy Americans are interested in the development of the arts. I firmly believe and the evidence supports the fact that Americans from every walk of life, from every economic level, strongly desire and seek access to cultural events in their communities for themselves and for their children. The National Endowment for the Arts is a testament to the continuing development of our unique culture, to our enduring faith in our own creativity and to our world leadership in artistic achievement.

From an economic point of view, the dollars sent by the Arts Endowment to communities around the Nation have been an extraordinarily successful investment. For every dollar the Endowment invests, there is created a tenfold return in jobs, services, and contracts. The arts fostered by the National Endowment encourage national and international tourism, attract and retain businesses in our communities, stimulate real estate development, increase production of exportable copyrighted materials and contribute to the tax base. Governors and mayors from around the country can attest to the manner in which Endowment-supported projects have breathed new life into the downtown areas of their towns and cities. New businesses and tourists congregate in those areas which have a developed cultural life. San Antonio, TX; Cleveland, OH; Greenville, MS;

Oklahoma City, OK; and Birmingham, AL are among the cities whose studies have shown the enormous economic contribution of the arts.

Mr. President, every parent knows that the arts are crucial in our school curricula because they teach young people creativity, increase self-discipline, and are a critical means of passing on an understanding of American culture and civilization to the next generation. Study of even a single artistic discipline is of immense value to a child, who may go on to become an avid amateur or patron. Last year, the Arts in Education Program distributed millions of dollars in partnership grants to the States to pay for artist residencies in schools and art teacher training.

I am most gratified that Chairman KASSEBAUM and Chairman JEFFORDS will be holding hearings over the next few weeks on authorization of the Endowments. I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to share with those of us on the committee their concerns and ideas so that we can work together to shape the Endowment's future role in our society as effectively as possible. This tiny investment in our Nation's culture makes a statement to ourselves and to the world that we view the development of American culture and its availability to our citizens as of significant importance. We must not become the only Western industrialized nation to declare that our Government cares nothing for the development of our culture. National support for the arts fosters the creation of community—locally and on the national level. Regardless of our differences of wealth, race, religion, and political belief, our cultural development binds us together, develops our character as Americans, and establishes our common heritage. As President John F. Kennedy once said:

Art and the encouragement of art is political in the most profound sense, not as a weapon in the struggle, but as an instrument of understanding the futility of the struggle between those who share man's faith. Aeschylus and Plato are remembered today long after the triumphs of imperial Athens are gone. I am certain that after the dust of centuries has passed over our cities, we too will be remembered not for victories or defeats in battle or politics, but for our contributions to the human spirit.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

#### UNFUNDED MANDATE REFORM ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 1, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1) to curb the practice of imposing unfunded Federal mandates on States and local governments; to strengthen the